

Environment

15

ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl. [583]

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyp, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.²⁰ Gwiyp, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently. [156] [602] [115] [191]

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,²¹ and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyp. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English. [597] [644] [648] [191]

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, [156] [554]

²⁰ It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyp. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively. [593]

²¹ She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation. [736]

Becoming a Kwoma

[621] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two
 [592] wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in
 [156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By
 [184] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of
 [195] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son.
 [196] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the house-
 [196] hold. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young
 [196] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the
 [191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin
 [195] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no
 children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a
 three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin Eng-
 lish. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no chil-
 dren.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house
 shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat
 (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year
 [191] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who
 [196] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has
 [197] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one
 [195] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma.
 There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[156] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household
 [195] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties,
 who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his
 wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and
 Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and
 [196] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his
 [194] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur,
 was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's
 wife.

[195] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is
 the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who
 [194] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly
 cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of
 Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son
 Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos,
 a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

Environment

21

About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but 114 said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The 648 patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract [464] • to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took [659] the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a 464 white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white 648 recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

- 464 or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade,
 648 and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave
 with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields.
 The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great
 economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men
 [593] leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never
 return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and
 protect them, and the young women were left with fewer
 [412] lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the re-
 cruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz
 celts, and other European articles which were extremely
 valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of
 [439] stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from
 their work with more tools and with money with which to buy
 pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many
 tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities
 of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go
 from Rumbima.

829 When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two
 123 categories: government agents and recruiters.²⁶ The former
 were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since
 we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as
 "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when
 the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return,
 many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were spe-
 cial emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was
 not until we had lived in the community for four months that
 we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we
 brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were
 classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continu-
 ally warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe
 with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to Amer-
 ica with you. We need them to help with the work of the ham-
 let." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter,
 Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

²⁶ The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders
 that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
 836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
 602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
 124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
 835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing."
 [148] The next day he reported that she had not come. On
 [144] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
 to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest
 rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants
 agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This,
 of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it
 does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me
 his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi,
 his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is
 my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my
 'sisters nothing.'¹⁸ If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be
 terribly guilty.¹⁹ These other sisters are all right."²⁰

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
 837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
 [56] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is
 a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual
 relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] ¹⁸ *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
 [196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

¹⁹ *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma
 use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety.
 While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments
 that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence,
 and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling.
 It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would
 be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[535] ²⁰ A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
 [539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the
 swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home.
 They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told
 them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son.
 Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a
 father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an
 asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on
 sexual behavior between brother and sister.

Becoming a Kwoma

583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

123

114

we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126

114

123

[754]

On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.

[648]

[644]

[191]

Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126

Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a house tambran.* A man belongs to the phratry of his father and cannot marry a woman of this phratry. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratry with which you

615
582

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no
success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it
had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem
told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a
house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and
shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I
followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came
up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it
got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the
22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much
dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We
came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost
the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but
nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more
false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a sugiliwas must have picked up the pig and
is running about with it. This is also Namb's explanation. It seems to me
that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that
we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient
explanations.

754 Later Yet came up and said that Sur was all right. Someone had
admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yet
648 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up
464 to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away.
Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to
tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall came, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later

464 Yot and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbina true" (loyal to Rumbina).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yot, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyanbarara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment, announced "fait i kum up mau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I sat out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Rwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals; his elder brother Bow was the other. He was standing in front

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "blingsing" rhythm from Wenyanankura
224 today. Mar and Oviyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills
a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house
tambaran. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and
partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin".
which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The
next morning when Bob went down to the house tambaran and spread out his
trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mandik was the
only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told

[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with
"Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and
hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore,
he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Oviyap were
working for us, and he stormed off down to March's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar, Oviyap, Mar,
May, Mandik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try
to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the
three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived
at the Tangwishamp house tambaran to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the
"master belong Rumbina" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648
464 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Mokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambek came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578
754 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of 'making poison' against
 754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half
 cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only
 pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for 'poison'. Kar went on
 to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter
 which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his
 house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
 464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by
 Bob). Mundik had left them at Namb's house and run back just out of sight
 up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with
 him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and
 scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had
 gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him
 and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and
 worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is
 on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp. The trade has
 shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyp told me that Kar's sister had returned
 114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn,
 they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the
 talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
 202 Gwiyp what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
 [534] and have a talk. Shortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He
 said no, that a 'lapun meri' was dying and they were calling her relatives

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
 [532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
 [541] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
 [561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let
 the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the
 figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me
 with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation
 with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar
 has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
 [324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
 [439] pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
 [683] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
 [692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter
 rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there
 had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up
 his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
 648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
 464 Rumbina house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not
 question me.

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
 464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to,
 but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the
 story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to
 have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious
 on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had
 answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
 464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela
 man;" (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day
 had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob
 left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something
 nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari"
 (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently
 rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that Wer had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
 574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more
 food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not,
 and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I
 had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 3, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain
 in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was
 sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was
 standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain,
 pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.

[834] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an aspirin
 [372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts.
 The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
 a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
 [361] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and
 [252] he gave War some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the
 next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. My
 also spit and mumbled.

* 115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

* 115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (5 marks).

[123] Mar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

* 115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
 464 earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
 583 spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
 476 communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
 614 January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Oviyep, Hamb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
 784 aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerises people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams.

He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sage for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

* 115 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood, Come on
582 up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

* 115 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he
584 satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mes marry Yat's daughter
583 which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

* 115 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.
583

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

* 115 I left Khoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has
648 signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mes and
464 Gwiya signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going--they warned
[602] him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the
[754] sib, but Mar left nevertheless.
[614]

*115
123
775 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall. Neither Oviyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come. I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Oviyap to come, but Oviyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Oviyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a "monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115
648
464 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongvan again to sign on boys. Oviyap is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again. December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancée, Yaw. Wof exorcised it. According to Oviyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinusa. Oviyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident. According to Oviyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinusa and Mey's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbina who can be possessed by spirits.